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A

S E R M O N

Preached at the

Primary Visitation

OF THE

Most Reverend FATHER in GOD

MICHAEL

Lord Arch-Bishop of *A R M A G H*,

PRIMATE and METROPOLITAN
OF ALL

I R E L A N D,

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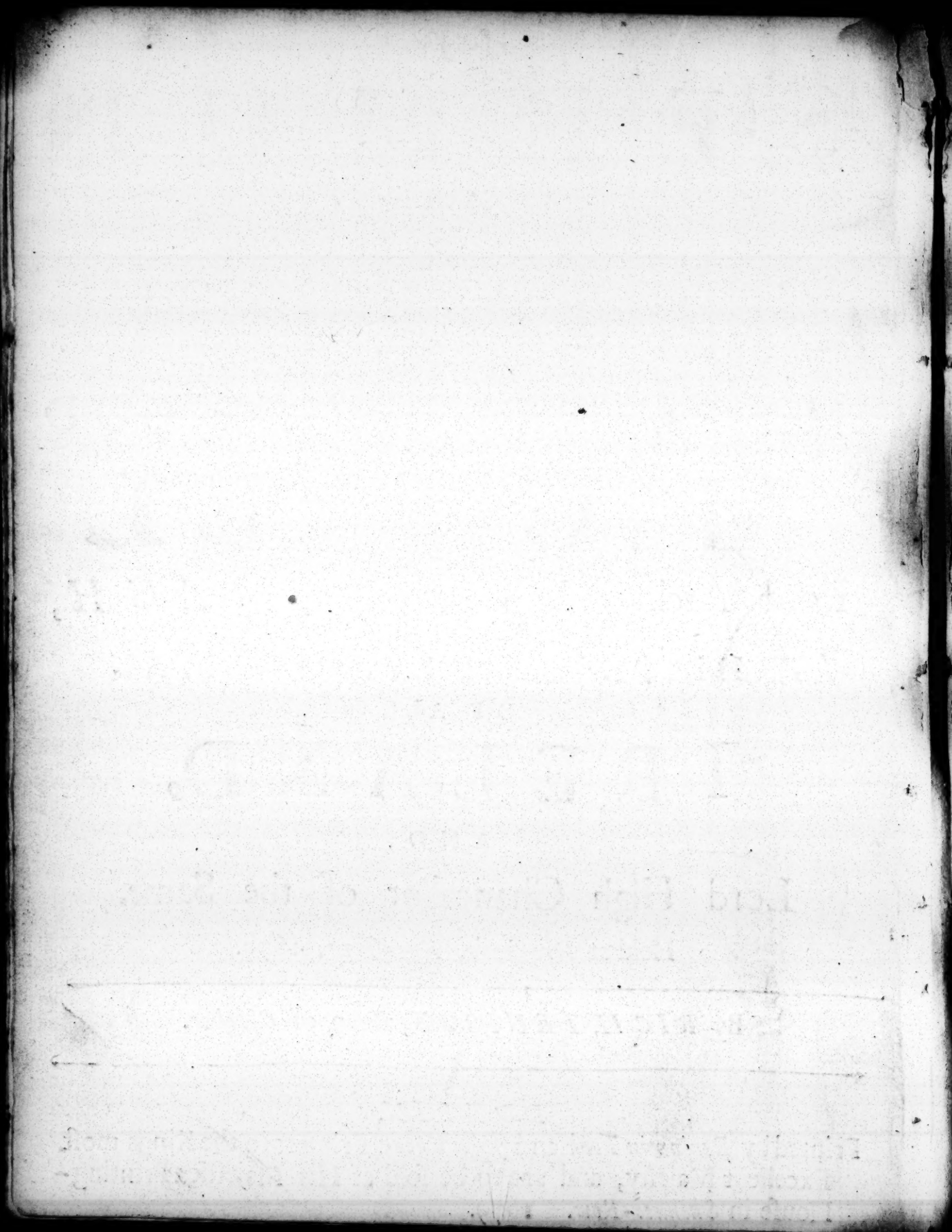
Lord High Chancellor of the Same.

Held at *Drogheda*, August 20. 1679.

By *RICH. TENISON*, Dean of *Clogher*.

DUBLIN,

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To the most Reverend Father in God, *Michael*, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *Ireland*, and Lord High Chancellor of the same.

May it please your Grace,

SO great and high are your Graces zealous Affections, and just Veneration for the best of Kings, that no Sermon which is perswasive to Allegiance can pass unregarded by you, but receives encouragement beyond its merit; of which observed truth, your Commands for this mean Discourse are an evident Demonstration. I little thought, having so happily escaped your learned Ear, to undergo the Test of your most piercing Eye: but having then preached Obedience to others, I must practise it my self, and submit to the kind Injunctions of so great a Superior; 'tis therefore laid at your Graces feet, hoping my Loyalty will atone its many imperfections, and the dayly fears of our Sovereigns Assassination may justifie its zeal and warmth; For, what tongue can be silent, to see the Father of our Countrey assaulted with such variety of Deaths? To see the Ponyard at his sacred Breast, the fatal Dose preparing, and the Gun ready to fire, must fill every true Subject with horror and resolution. He is the Head of the Body Politick, and as in the Natural, all the Members strive to defend the Head, and share in its pain, so should it be in this; the bloody hand which is lift up against him must wound all loyal souls, the cursed Sword which strikes at him must pierce their hearts; they must value the Life of their Prince infinitely above their own, and run through the greatest difficulties to preserve him; and if they dye in his defence, they perpetuate their Name on Earth, and receive the Reward of their Fidelity in Heaven; which true Protestant Principle made many thousands in the late times leap into the midst of dangers, and run through the armed Troops of their too potent Enemies; their greatest force could not make them yield, but they covered that Post with their Bodies, which they could not maintain with their Arms, and willingly died martyrs for their King, their Religion, and Country.

This (my Lord) many places can witness, but none more in this Kingdom than this Loyal Town, in defence of which, your Graces valiant Bro-

ther (famous for Courage and Conduct) and many hundreds more, did triumphantly lose their lives; their blood ran in streams through our streets, and like the brave Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopyle, they with a small number opposed an Army, and no doubt but there are vast multitudes in each of these Kingdoms, who will imitate those Heroick spirits, and cheerfully fall, for the King, and the Church.

And if ever good Subjects should demonstrate their Courage, it is now; if ever Protestants should love, honour and obey their King, it is now; when the cruel Jesuits are plotting and consulting to murder him, and subvert our Religion; in this they are closely combined, this they hold lawful and just, as I have proved out of many of their Books, besides Mariana, (though a Jesuit lately executed would confess none else of that Judgment.) But alas! instead of uniting against them, we bandy into Sects and Factions; we run into Schisms and Divisions, and make way for them to destroy us; we forget how the Civil Discords of our Ancestours brought our King and Countrey under the Subjection of the Roman Emperour, and I wish our violent heats about Religion, do not at last bring our Church under the vassalage of the Roman Bishop, and our State into some imminent danger; for without an agreement in that, our Kingdoms cannot flourish: Where men differ in Ecclesiasticks, they usually clash in Politicks, and have their own intrigues and designs to promote their Opinions; they are jealous and doubtful one of another, and like the several Factions in Rome and Carthage, while they pretend the good of the Commonwealth, they destroy it.

Of this, our late bloody and tragical Devastations are an undeniable Evidence, and that we are falling into the same miseries again, is more than probable; for seditious and fiery spirits do now (as formerly) fill the floating heads of the vulgar, with causeless fears and jealousies, and make the King and his greatest Ministers the common Subject of their Discourse, and if all things be not done, and timed according to their humour, (as if they knew all Reasons of State, and had Intelligence from all parts of the world) then do they calumniate and slander the Government; and asperse those most, who have ever been most eminent for their Loyalty to the King and the Church, and would now die in their defence; and thus are the people deluded, and made subservient to some aspiring malecontents, who by their Agents and Emissaries do in all places reflect on
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the Management of Affairs, and make them Patrons of Popery, who have ever abhorred it, and were lately for their aversion to it to be cruelly murdered, as is constantly affirmed by
 * those on whose Evidence most of our late Discoveries depend.

* Dr Oats's
 Nar. p. 16.
 23, 25.

But your Grace well remembers, this was their method in the beginning of our late troubles, they (according to Machiavals Advice) did boldly libel and calumniate, and to destroy both Church and State, they subverted their strongest Pillars, under the pretence of being corrupted and rotten with Popery, and by clamour and noise made all Papists, who were not as rash, furious, and disloyal as themselves. Nay those holy Prelates, whose most learned Works will be eternal Armories, and most impregnable Fortresses against the whole power of Rome, were most unjustly and ingratelully branded with the same Character; and such are now their Designs and Practices; They would perswade the people to have an ill opinion of our Governours, that they might the more securely carry on their own Designs; But I hope God will infuse a spirit of Discerning into our King, our Parliaments, and Counsellors, and that all who are in any Authority will fix one Eye on those subtile Underminers both of Church and State, that while they are most zealous and intent (and blessed be God they are so) on the suppression of Popery, our rigid Sectaries may not grow too numerous and formidable; for when greedy and voracious flames seize on both ends of a Ship, the middle part is like to perish; and we know Diseases long neglected may prove destructive. In the beginning of the Reformation, the Genevian Infection did spread it self, and the good Queen could not easily prevent it, her Thoughts being chiefly employed in the Extirpation of Popery, which dangerous Evil the wise King James did soon perceive, and resolve to redress, as appears by his Proclamations against them, and his first Speech to his Parliament, in which, speaking of the Sectaries and Novelists, he says, They are ever discontented with the present Government, and impatient to suffer any Superiority, which makes their Sect unable to be suffered in any well governed Commonwealth; yet he did not do it; for the Gunpowder Plot turned his Eyes wholly on the Papists, and so had the Separatists an opportunity to increase to such a prodigious number, as proved destructive to his Son, the Church, and these Kingdoms: Which, with the two late Rebellions in Scotland,

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may move our Governours to look back sometimes, and watch the motions of the Kirk : But I presume too far ; and must beg your Graces pardon, for the loss of your minutes in viewing this rude Address, so low a Style is no way fit for your Graces view, who are (as was said of Clem. Alex,) Inter Doctos, summè Eloquentes, inter Eloquentes, summè Doctus ; In you the Piety and Zeal, the Wisdom and Courage, and other justly admired Accomplishments of your Graces late great Predecessors, are most happily met ; You every way fill and adorn your Chair, in which, that your Grace may long sit, and continue what you are, one of the greatest Pillars both of Church and State, is the Prayer of,

May it please your Grace,

Your Graces most Humble
and Obedient Servant,

RICH. TENISON.

1 Pet.

1 Pet. 2. 17. Honour the King

AMong the Plots and Conspiracies of the Conclave and the Consistory, amidst the unjust Pretensions of the *Roman* Bishop, and the Presbyterian Kirk, to a Superiority over Monarchs; This Apostolical Canon may not unseasonably be discoursed on; for when the Papists have (besides all their former bloody Treasons) now lately contrived the Murther of our Sovereign, and our disloyal Separatists in *Scotland* have run again into Rebellion, and published a trayterous Declaration, denying his Supremacy, and calling his Government an Usurping Power (though their own Chronicles witness him to be the Hundred and Tenth King of his Line;) 'tis high time for all Orthodox and Loyal Clergy men to declare their Detestation and Abhorrency of such unchristian Tenets and Practices, which are so directly opposite to this Injunction of *St. Peter*, whose Successours, the Popes desire and glory to be esteemed, and whose peculiar Followers, our fiery Zealots, do no less proudly boast themselves.

But I shall quote him against them, and from him prove them great Enemies to Princes, and Invaders of the Rights of Kings; for in this Epistle, he more than once commands *v. 13.* Obedience to be given unto them, and that in most general terms, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, &c. ut ostendat, non Qualitates Personarum, sed Officium hic respici debere.* Magistracy, whether in Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel, was then to be regarded; none did presume to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance; neither was Dominion then founded in Grace, nor the Qualifications of Kings to be judged by the People; but according to the preceptive Will of God, the very Throne and Seat of Judicature, did exact Obedience. Which, least they being Christians, should refuse the Pagan Monarch, who then reigned

signed, who was so cruel and outrageous against them; least they should fail in their Duty to him, deny to pay him Tribute as other subjects did, or take up Arms in defence of their Lives, he twice minds them of their Allegiance, charges them to submit unto him, and all his Prefects, and Governours, in their several Provinces, and not only and barely to submit to live peaceably and quietly under him; but, which was more, to honour him, *Honour the King*; in discoursing of which, I shall shew,

First, The meaning of the words, the Duty which arises from them, and wherein it consists.

Secondly, Who are the great Violators of it, and their unjust Pretences.

Thirdly, Who are the best Observers of it, and consequently the best Christians, and the truest Subjects.

First, The meaning of the Words, and the Duty, &c,

Honor est clara cum laude Notitia, or *Testificatio de Excellentia*; 'tis that esteem and respect, which is paid to a man in regard of the Place he is in, or the Excellency he is endow'd with; 'tis a deserved Fame, Advancement and Exaltation above others, an Acknowledgment of their worth and merit, and a suitable Reverence and Observance paid unto it. By the King is understood the Emperour, and all his Lieutenants, and Vicegerents; so that he requires them to give all due submission and veneration to the Supream Magistrate; and to all who were in Authority under him, to shew them all just honour and regard in the Observation of their Laws, and the payment of their Tribute, *Imperatorum summos exhibete honores quos capit humana natura*. Gro. *Observatione Legum, & Præstatione Tributorum*. Esti.

And the Prince, to whom this duty was to be paid, was that *Portentum hominis*, as *Suetonius* calls him, the inhuman *Nero*, who thirsted after their Blood, and put them to the most exquisite Torments he could invent; for he wrapt them in the skins of beasts, and let the dogs devour them, he burnt them in pitched coats, and made them serve for Torches in
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the night . Even to him was this great Honour to be given, and the Primitive Fathers do largely witness, all his Cruelty did never make them fail therein.

From which you may soon note, That it is the Duty of all Subjects to honour the King, be he good or Evil.

No sooner had Almighty God made *Moses* his Vicegerent, and set'ed him in the Government of his People, but he made Laws for them to walk by, and wrote them in Tables of Stone, to denote their perpetuity and duration: and no sooner had he secured his own Worship in the first Table, but he fixes Honour and Obedience to Magistrates in the front of the second, and made it the first of those Laws which relate to humane Society; because a man can't perform Acts of Justice to his Inferiours and Equals, who is unnatural and disobedient to his Superiours. And for the same reason, in the *Roman* Laws are the Crimes against Magistrates, and their several Punishments first reckoned up, it being impossible for any to be good Members of a Commonwealth, who do not first learn and practice Obedience to Governours. The Laws will never be well observed, where men don't honour the Magistrate; Fear may make us go, but its the true Honour we have for our Superiours, which adds wings to our loyal inclinations, and makes us cheerfully perform their Commands. The word is very comprehensive, and takes in all that Loyalty and Fidelity, that Reverence and Duty, which we owe to those above us, and by consequence, shews them their Duty to us; so that this short Precept is the great Ligament of human Society, and the very Foundation of all Obedience; for while we reserve that honour for the Magistrate which we owe him, we won't violate his Laws, which are the grand Security of our Lives, Liberties, and Estates.

And it being duly observed, it will be the Princes and the Peoples Safety, it will be the guard and continuance of Polity and Government in the World, and will keep Order and Regularity among us; some must be exalted above others, and their Injunctions must be obeyed, otherwise all would tumble

into Anarchy and Confusion. The strongest Arm and the longest Sword would decide all Controversies, and we should soon devour one another, τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ἄνθρωποι, θύουσιν ἀλλήλους. ἡγοῦνται ὡς οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, δαπανοῦντες ἀλλήλους καὶ καταδύοντες. *Chrif.* This the Law of God does not only declare, but the Laws of Nature dictate it to all mankind. Men are rational and sociable Creatures, they can't live like Brutes in Woods and Desarts. They must enter into Communities, Societies and Bodies, for Comfort, Converse and Safety. And when they are thus convened and gathered, all cannot Govern; so that of necessity there must be some Head to guide and rule them, to whose Decision and Determination all Differences and Contentions (which will unavoidably happen among Numbers) must be referred and submitted. To which having once consented, they are no longer *Sui Juris*, the Liberty, Authority and Power, which before they had by Nature, is devolved upon the Magistrate, and Him must they afterward Honour and obey.

S. Aust. And thus all Nations and Countreys have their Kings, or other Magistrates, to whom they pay Homage and Fealty, and mutual Relations of Superiority and Subjection are observed among those, who are only influenced by the Light of Nature. *Generale pactum est Societatis humanæ Regibus obedire.* Which Law of Nature, and general Custome in all parts of the world, God has not altered or abrogated, but most strongly ratified and confirmed; for both in the Old and New Testament we have many strict Precepts for Honour and Obedience to Magistrates, that so that Polity and Order which God and Nature hath established in the world may be preserved, that the Magistrates, who defend us in our lives, may have that Love and Honour, Obedience and Maintenance; which, for their great and restless Cares, their vast Troubles and constant Hazards, are justly due unto them. All which grateful Returns are here included in the word Honour; and so it is often taken in Scripture; and in that notion shall I now discourse of it in reference to the King, and shew you how you are

are obliged to love and honour him, to own his Supremacy and obey his Laws, to pay him Tribute and maintain him. In these does this Duty consist, from which none born in his Dominions can pretend any immunity or exemption.

First, We must love and honour him.

Every man who would truly honour the King, must first love him at the highest rate he can, and then all Duty and Veneration will soon follow; for if once the Affections be vanquished with any object, they presently open, and all the Faculties of the Soul are imployed in their Service, all other things are less valued and esteemed, nothing offensive or displeasing to it is committed; but the Mind is changed and squared to the will and pleasure of that which has overcome them. These are some of the effects and influences of true Love: and if we would perform the several branches of our Duty to the King, as we ought, we must first very highly love him; which that we may do, let us look on him as the publick Father and Protector of our Countrey, who guards us from forraign Invasions, and domestick Rebellions; by whom Peace is preserved, Traffique and Commerce increase, the Kingdom grows rich and flourish, and every man sits under his own Vine, and Fig-tree; His coercive Power restraining the outrages of the Wicked, and securing our Lives, our Religion and Property from the encroachments of Ecclesiastical and Secular Robbers; which great Advantages may well move us to love him, and make us willingly give all possible demonstrations of the greatness of our Affections, in a full and perfect Obedience to his Commands, exposing our selves to the greatest hazard to defend his Person, and in all our words and actions paying him the most submissive Regard.

And then will our Honour for him be the effect and concomitant of our Love, which will soon be heightened and exalted, if we consider him, as one, whom God hath made his immediate Vicegerent, and given him Power and Authority over his People, he hath placed him in the highest Seat of Renown, and he hath put a Sword in his hand, to protect

and correct his Subjects, and under both temporal and eternal Penalties hath enjoyned them to obey him. Nay so jealous is he of their Honour, that he takes all Contempts and Insurrections against them, as done to himself, and hath inseparably united our Fear to him and his Representatives; it being impossible to fear him, without honouring those whom he hath substituted in his place. The Apostle here ingeminates it, to make it the more observable; and *Solomon* also unites them, *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* We must then be fastned to him with the firmest chains of Affection, and next to the Deity, whom he personates, have the highest veneration for him; a loyal sympathy must dwell in us, our Pulse must keep time with his, and we must share in the sickness and health, in the joys and sorrows, the safety and danger of our Sovereign; the least injury that is done to him (our Head) must affect the whole Body, and we must not suffer a word that tends in the least to his dishonour, but to our utmost, seek to justify his Government, extenuate his Failings; and endear him all we can to the People, which is now most necessary; there being too many of the Gnostick humour, who lessen the Virtues of their Rulers, and rob them of their just Honours, who, as *St. Peter* says, *are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities, nor tremble when they rayl at Glories;* for so the *Greek* signifies.

A presumptuous sort of men, who despise Dominion, inveigh against the Government, and insinuate an evil Opinion of it into the vulgar, which is a forerunner of Rebellion, such Swellings rising usually before breakings out, in the Body politick, as we'll as the natural. And undoubtedly, they who are more ready to question and dispute the Commands of their Prince, than to obey them, who are still inquiring into the Grounds and Reasons of publick Actions; and, as far as they dare, do guess and descant upon them; who call every slip a fall, and upon all occasions inhanche the Failings of the Magistrate, want only strength and opportunity to do more. By the

the Eruptions of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, we see what is within them; he who is a Rebel in his tongue, is certainly so in his heart; for out of the abundance of that the mouth speaketh; he that strikes at the King, in his Honour, would have no regard for his Person.

It must be the care then of every good Subject, to counter-mine those secret and hellish Engineers, who thus undermine the Throne; and, by false and aggravating suggestions, prepare the People to rise up against the Lords anointed, towards whom not only our words, but our very thoughts are restrain'd, *Eccles. 10. 20.* We must demonstrate our Honour for him in our just representation of his Actions to the People, and dissuade them from the Itch of prying into State Affairs, and censuring the Actions of Princes, and their faithful Ministers; they are beyond our Ken, and we can't judg rightly of them; weak and false Opticks may fancy every molehill a mountain, and the ignorant will think Stars fall, when they only shoot, or glance: soon may our Senses be deceived, when we look at inadequate Objects, and at too great a distance.

Perswade we men then, to move Regularly in their own spheres, to mind their own business, and not to judg of those above them; and let us never, without just indignation and reproof, hear the least Reflection on our Governours: 'Tis not generous to hear those we love, ill spoken of, and 'tis unnatural, and disloyal, to suffer the least Pasquil against our Prince, the common Parent of our Countrey; we should vindicate him, and his Substitutes from all factious and seditious Aspersions, and suffer none *to revile the Gods, nor curse the Rulers of our People*, but always shew the greatness of our Love to them, in being zealous for their Honour, in raising them all we can in the Esteem of the World, and cheerfully paying all Tribute and Taxes; which is another Demonstration of our Honour to them, and next to be discoursed on.

2. *Præstatio Tributorum*, or Maintenance, is contained in the word Honour; and all who pretend Honour for the King, must

Deutr.
21. 17.

must willingly perform it; 'Tis the signification of the word
1 Tim. 5. 17. The Elders that rule well, be accounted worthy of
double Honour; i.e. Esteem and Maintenance; alluding to the
 Elder Brothers Portion which was double; Princes then must
 be supported by their Subjects, Tribute and Custom must be
 conscienciously paid unto them, for which you have Christs
 Command and Example, *Matth. 22. 21.* where he orders
 them not to give, but to render or restore unto the King his
 Taxes; not as Gift, but as Debt, as the just Reward of that
 Protection, and Safety, which we have from him; and so 'tis
 explained and confirmed, *Rom. 13. 6.* And so observant was
 Christ in it, that he wrought a Miracle to perform it: and
Justin Martyr and *Tertullian* declare the great readiness of the
 Primitive Christians to pay Tribute in the midst of all their
 Persecutions. And if you reflect on the great Care, and Dis-
 quietude, which continually attend the Throne; the vast and
 unavoidable Expences which must support its Glory; the pub-
 lick Dangers, and private Assassinations, which they are sub-
 ject to, and their Readiness to hazard their Royall Persons in
 your defence; you can't, without the greatest violations of duty
 and gratitude, deny your proportion of Taxes: Their whole life
 is full of trouble, and their days are spent in misery; like the
 Lamp, to give light to others they wast themselves; They
 stand in slippery places, and the Throne is covered with Ice;
 their Crown is surrounded with Thorns, and has often proved
 so very ponderous, and uneasy, that many of our own, and
 Forraign Princes have groaned under its insupportable pres-
 sures; the Conservation of their Fame at home and abroad,
 their watching the Actions and Designs of all neighbouring
 States, and the ballancing or suppressing the Factions and In-
 trigues of their own aspiring, covetous, and unruly Subjects,
 give them but few quiet and refreshing slumbers. Nay, in the
 greatest confluence of Enjoyments, when they have been
 sated with Victories; so troublesome have their very Lau-
 rels been, that they have deserted their Thrones, longing for
 a quiet Retirement, and secure Obscurity; and some have
 com-

complained, they never had one days ease, after their Heads were incircled with the Royal Diadem. In a word, they spend their whole life in consulting our good; and let us therefore pay Tribute to maintain them, their inferiour Magistrates, and Armies, by whose care and vigilancy we sleep in safety, and let us honour them most, who bear the greatest share in the Troubles of Government, and are most assisting to the King. To raise great Sums when the support of his Grandeur, and the Kingdoms Honour require it, is but a just sign of our Gratitude and Loyalty unto him, and let the next be, our Obedience to all his lawful Commands, for that also is included in the word Honour.

3. We must shew our Honour to the King in obeying him.

The Law of God, and the Law of Nature, and the Laws of all Nations, give Kings Supremacy, and Authority over their native Subjects; and without a manifest breach of those, we cannot resist their lawful Commands. And such all are to be esteemed, which do not plain'y thwart, and positively contradict, the revealed Law of God; for if the thing which the Magistrate requires, be undetermined by the Law of God, and indifferent in it self, his Command in such cases must be binding to us, and obtain our Obedience: as for instance, Reason, and the Custom of all places shews, there must be a Determination of Circumstances in every Society, otherwise there will be nothing but Confusion. Now if the decision of these, be not plain in Scripture, the Governours, who have the Charge over us, may do it, to promote Regularity, and certainty of time and place in the Worship of God, according to the Apostles Canon, *Let all things be done decently and in order*, *κατά τάς τεταγμένας*, according to Command, or Appointment; *Res ordinatim in Ecclesiâ faciendæ*, is Mr: Cartwrights own gloss upon it. In matters both real and ritual, substantial and ceremonial Decency and Order is to be observed; and when they have determined such Circumstances, and Ceremonies, in Gods Service, as are not contrary to Scripture, nor forbidden by it; but are harmless in themselves, and undecided by the Law of

of God, we ought to observe them. The very Commands of lawful Magistrates take away the indifferency, and require a Conformity and Observance under sin: They conclude, and limit our choice, and it is sin in us, not to obey them, when they are indifferent. Nay, if what they enjoyn be doubtful, their Command should weigh down our private Opinion, till we are clearly convinced of the Sinfulness of what they impose, and then, and not before, must we disobey them. *Damnum dat qui jubet dare, ejus vero nulla culpa est, cui parere necesse est.* The Laws of the Romans, and other Nations, excused the Person who obeyed the Magistrate, from all punishment or trouble of Law; and so St. *Austin* states it in the case of the Sou'dier, who is not certain, whether what he is ordered to do, be against the Law of God or no. *Fortasse reum faciat Regem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem vero militem ostendat Ordo serviendi.* The Magistrate may offend in commanding, but not he who obeys; the *Principium actionis* is in him, and he must answer for it. Thus should we behave our selves, when what is commanded, is only doubtful, or indifferent, we should have meekness of Judgment, complying and condescending Spirits; we should distrust and reject our private humours, and fancies, for the general quiet of the Kingdom; and by our Conformity to the Rules imposed, shew our Honour to the King, and never resist them, unless they be clearly against the revealed Law of God.

In such case only have we liberty to deny, but even then, we must refuse it with all humility, and meekness, patiently undergo Imprisonment or Death, but never use any open resistance; and thus have all Nations understood the Power, and Prerogative of Princes; for were there Decrees to be opposed with Force and Violence, no Order or Government could be in the World: And therefore the very Heathens advise Subjects to dye, rather than lift up a hand against their King, though he were Tyrannical, and did exact unlawful things. The Gods have given Princes Power to govern, and nothing is left to the Subject, but the Glory of Obedience; let

L. 22. c.
74. Con.
Faus.

T. cit.

let them be what they will, we must obey without resistance. Many are the Laws, and most severe were the Punishments, which they ordained, to defend the Majesty and Grandeur of their Kings, their Prefects, and Officers ; if the Souldier broke the Stick, with which the Centurion struck him, he was put to death.

This Nature taught them, and there is natural Allegiance due from every Subject, to the Prince of the Country where he is born, though that Prince did not make him swear ; he transgresses the Law of Nature, if he denies Fealty to him ; and whether ever he is sworn or no, he is bound to be true to his native Prince ; for the Fidelity of Subjects, proceeds originally from the Law of Nature, which is eternal, and unalterable, and not from the obligation of Oaths ; and he violates this Law, who doth not pay all Honour and Subjection to that Prince, in whose Country he his born and resides, though he never took Oath of Allegiance or Supremacy.

But if my King require an Oath from me, to assure him of my Fidelity, I must take it ; and I am guilty of Perjury, as well as Disloyalty, if I ever swerve the least tittle from it. He is the Head of the Society, or Community, of which I am a member : to him, before my Oath, I owed homage by nature ; and no Power under Heaven can discharge me from that natural Allegiance, which I owe him, nor absolve me from the Oath I have taken, without his consent.

Beside all which, the Law of God has in many places enjoined Obedience to Kings ; and there are not more positive and plainer Commands for any Duty, than for Honour, Maintenance, and Obedience to Princes ; and we find no persons exempted from it, but both Clergy and Laity are subject to it, as I shall fully prove by Scripture, and Antiquity : and all who derogate from the Honour of their native Prince, who lessen his Authority, and deny his Supremacy, act quite contrary to this Text, and in so doing, are neither good Christians, nor good Subjects : But they who walk exactly according to this Rule, who honour the King, and no way entrench upon his Prerogative,

gative; but support it in its just height and exaltation, they are the best Christians, and the truest Subjects, and consequently ought to receive all Countenance, Incouragement, and Protection from Princes; and so I hast to the next thing.

2. Who are the great Violaters of this Text, and their unjust Pretences.

They who chiefly oppose the true Protestant Doctrine of Obedience to Secular Princes, are the Papists, and the Separatists; in this they agree, and their Principles are very destructive to Government, quite contrary to the Practice of the Primitive Christians, and the indispensable Rules of Scripture; for the Law of God requireth all persons to obey their Kings; if St. *Peters* words can have any influence on the Papists, I need but name my Text, which has no limitation in it, but is directed to all men, not imagining his Successors would have pretended the contrary; but if they won't be concluded by him in this, and other Texts, let them hear what St. *Paul* says, *Ro. 13: 1. Let every soul be subject unto the higher Powers*; if every soul must be subject, the Pope and the Clergy are included, and all are there commanded to obey, under the dreadful penalty of Damnation.

But the Popes have since, through Ambition and Avarice, usurped a Power over Princes; and the Jesuits, the great Pillars of the Papal Throne, have wrote much in defence of it; though they can't but know, that the Popes themselves observed this Rule for many hundreds of years, and all the Bishops, both of the East and West, did exactly conform unto it; *Repugnare non novi, dolere potero; potero flere, potero gemere, lacrymæ meæ arma sunt*, &c. says St. *Amb.* They c'aimed no Authority over them, and made no resistance, but with their Prayers, and Tears. *Cum nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur, sed Deo remittimus ultionem.* And *Athanasius* says, Obedience to Magistrates was the universal Doctrine of the Church; the antient Councils, and Synods, were called by the Emperours; the Titles of their Acts are, *Sacra Synodus juxta religiosissimarum Christianissimorumque Imperatorum nostrorum*

L. 5. O.
rat. in
Aux.

Lañ. l. 5.

rum

rum Præscriptum coacta. Sacra Synodus juxta piissimorum nostrorum Imperatorum Decretum per Dei gratiam congregata. Sometimes the Acts run, *Ex Jussu, Ex Evocatione, Ex Ordinatione, Regum nostrorum, &c.* They met by the Emperours Order, Appointment, and Writs; as they acknowledge in ² *Cone.* their Letters to them; *Ἐκ τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως;* and *Const.* their Acts were made Authentick by their Confirmation.

The Bishops humble Addresses to the Emperours for Establishing their Canons, and Decrees; and their Ratifications and Orders for Obedience to them, are frequently recorded; and all the Clergy of *Rome*, as well as other places, observed their Edicts; and no news then of the Popes Supremacy, as is confess'd by the Bishops, who met at *Bononia*, to sett'e the Church in the time of *Julius* the Third; which Power did all along, both under the Law, and the Gospel, belong unto Princes. If you look in the Old Testament, you'll find, they had power over the Clergy, from the first settlement of Government amongst Gods own People; *Aaron* obeyed *Moses*, who was King in *Jesurum*; & in the *2Chr. 23. 21.* You see both Clergy and Laity entring into a Covenant of Allegiance to young King *Joash*; and then did Kings punish spiritual persons, as well as others, *Abiathar* was removed from the high Priesthood by King *Solomon*; and *Josiah*, *Jehoshaphat*, and other Kings, did reform Religion, and banish Idolatry: and in the New Testament, Christ and his Apostles were all obedient to the Heathen Emperours, paid them Tribute, and owned their Authority, in appealing to them from inferior Jurisdictions. And long after them, The Bishops of *Rome* were so far from having Supremacy over Kings, that other Bishops would not yield to their Usurpation; for *Ann. 325*, when *Constantine* called the Council of *Nice*, the four Patriarkships were set'led by the Suffrage of 318 Bishops, and then it was decreed, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have as much Authority in his Patriarkship, as the Bishop of *Rome* had in his; only the first Place was allowed him in General Councils, he being Bishop of the Imperial City. The Council of *Constantinople* (in which

were 150 Bishops, and which was called by the Emperour *Theodosius*) granted only a Primacy of Order to the Bishop of *Rome*, and no more; and *Ann.* 434, the Council of *Ephesus* (which was summoned by the Emperours Order, as the Acts do often shew) which was honoured with the presence of 200 Prelates, ordered, no Bishop should usurp any Authority, but what was always his: And about eighteen years after, when 430 Mitred Heads did adorn the great Council of *Chalcedon*, they declared, that though the *Roman* Bishop had the Precedency of Place, yet was the Bishop of *Constantinople* equal to him in all things.

St. *Peters* Charter was not then urged, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and I will give unto thee the Keys of Heaven*; they knew, no more was meant by the words, than that, as *Peters* Name signified a Rock, such should he be, strong and solid, in the building of the Church; and that nothing should prevail against the Faith he then had publickly professed, so *Chrysof. Hil.* and *Cypr.* understood it, and so did St. *Bernard* long enough after them; for he loudly inveighs against the Tyranny of the *Roman* Bishop, and says to *Eugenius*, who was Pope about 1145, *Quid vos alienos fines invaditis? disce, tibi sarculo opus esse, non Sceptro*; he denies St. *Peters* Charter, and says, *Esto ut quacunque aliâ ratione hoc tibi vindices, non tamen Apostolico jure, nec illud dare tibi Petrus potuit, quod non habuit.* He thought a Shephook did better become that great Shepherds hand, than a Scepter; and that *Peter* could not consign that power to others, which was never granted to him: and as to the power of the Keys, Christ gave it equally to all the Apostles, *Joh.* 20. 21. He did not then give it, but according to his promise (*I will*) he afterward imparted it unto them; so that 'tis clear, *Peter* had no personal Authority from Christ over the rest of his Brethren, neither did he arrogate the Name of Universal Bishop, as Pope *Gregory* himself declares, *l. 4. Epis.* 76; and much less should his Successours claim that Title. His Age and Gravity might give him a Primacy of Order, but more we do not find

find, And therefore the Priority of place, was all that the first General Councils would allow to the following Bishops of that See, and that only, because *Rome* was the Seat of the Empire; and when the Emperour removed to *Constantinople* or *Ravenna*, the Bishops of those Places did contend with him for superiority; Neither would the Bishops of *Carthage*, *Alexandria*, *Millain*, and other Places, yeild any thing more to *Rome*, but said they were equal in their several Precincts. The Greek and Roman Patriarcks, and Archbishops, governed their own Provinces, without Usurping upon each other; according to the Division of the *Roman Empire*, they were quietly settled in the Principle City of each Province; where the *Roman* President lived, there did the Christian Metropolitan dwell; the Bishops were Placed in their several Diocesses, and were subordinate to their own Metropolitan, and no other.

This was the true State of the Church then, the Bishop of *Rome* had no Supremacy over Forraign Bishops, much less over Kings, but gave both that honour which was due unto them. And thus did it continue till about 606; when *Boniface* the Third, and sixty sixth Bishop of that See (according to the best Chronologers) usurped the Title of chief of the Bishops, by the help of the cruel *Phocas*; for *Sabianus* his Predecessor had it not, and *Gregory*, who was just before him, did sharply exclaime against the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who then began to assume it; he called it *Nomen Blasphemiae*, and in his 83 *Epis. In isto scelesto Vocabulo, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere.* L. 4. Epis: 76.

But the judgment of that good Pope weighed little with his successours, they Triumphed in that swelling Title; But tho they dealt thus injuriously with their Brethren the Bishops, (to which some near them were soon drawn to consent, but others in *Africk* and *Cappadocia* would not hear of it, but severely rebuked them for their Pride) they themselves did meekly Submit to the Authority of the Emperours, who did then and long after convocate and Dissolve Synods, And as Cardinal *Cusanus* himself confesses, did in Person, or by their De. Concil. L. 3. De- C. 6.

Deputies, preside in Eight General Councils, which they cou'd not have done, had the Pope been then Head of the Church.

They disposed of spiritual preferments, and judged & made Laws in Ecclesiastical affaires, one was made by *Honorius*, about the very Election of the Pope, & what Edicts they decreed, *Damasus* and other Popes made be read in all the Churches of *Rome*; see the decree for the Consecration of *Leo* the 8. and the Council, which gave *Jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem*, to *Charles the Great*, when he had secured and settled the western Empire; which power his successors held, till the Reign of *Henry* the fourth, who confirmed the Election of *Gregory* the 7. but was afterwards excommunicated by him; There also will you find that the Pope durst not Consecrate *Colonus* without the Emperours licence; There was no opposing them in any thing then, the very time and place for holding Councils were ascertained by them. You find Pope *Leo* with weeping Eyes begging *Theodosius* to have a Council in *Italy*, which he refused, and kept at *Chalcedon*, and Commanded him to attend it; and in all Places, the Bishops then obeyed the Princes they lived under, and did not pretend the Popes supremacy to defend them; they thought it a sin (as the sixth Council of *Toledo* declares it) to question his Power, to whom God hath given Authority over all, but did every where patiently submit to what they inflicted upon them, How silently did *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosatena*, go into banishment at the Emperours command? and did not *St. Cyprian* do the like at the Injunction of the Proconsul of *Affrick*? was not *St. Cyril* imprisoned by *Theodosius* junior, and *St. Chrysostom* banished by *Arcadius*? and many more by other Emperours? what need I insist longer on this? the greatest Bishops and Fathers of the Church, did throughout the world, submit to their Kings, and gave them all imaginable Honour and Reverence.

This they did till *Boniface* the Eighth about 1295 advanced the *Papal* Grandeur, and claimed Authority over Princes, and by degrees, and with difficulty, he and his successors obtained it Generally beyond Seas. In which you may observe the policy.

licy of the Popes ; first they did exact Superiority over the Bishops, and then over Kings; To ascend the Throne they pull down the Mitre; In which method they were lately followed by the aspiring Separatists of these nations; but neither abroad nor here, could Princes be brought under, till the Bishops were first cast down: whence by forraign and domestick Experience, we may conclude, that Aphorism of King *James* will be eternally true; No Bishop, No King. They who rob the Bishops of their honour will next fly at the Kings; If they once get the Rich Stones out of *Aarons* Ephod, the Jewells of the Crown will be thought too Splendid; If they get the Crozier in one hand, they will be impatient, till they hold the Scepter in the other.

Thus did the Pope, Thus did the *Kirk*; But though the Pope did exalt himself above many forraign Princes, our Kings would not submit to such Usurpation; most of them before and since the Conquest opposed it, and his *Nuncio's* and *Legats*, have been often rejected, and his Bulls and Breves vilified and contemned; his Supremacy denied, the Clergy consenting thereunto, and Appeals to *Rome* most strictly Prohibited & forbidden, of which our ancient and modern Historians, give many instances, too tedious now to mention. Do but consult the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of *Edw: the 1st. Rich: the 2d. & Edw: the 3d. & Henry the fifth*, and you'll find, they unanimously declared, that the King of *England* ought not to answer before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Secular, and that the Crown of *England* was subject to none but to God, and ought not to be submitted to the Pope, and that he was to exercise no Jurisdiction in *England*.

And *Anno 601 Dionothus*, Abbot of *Bangor*, proved by many Arguments, that the Church of *England* owed no subjection to the Pope of *Rome*; and as *Bede* assures you, *Neque precibus, L. 2. neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini, &c. They C. 2. would by no means recede from their own ancient Customs, Eccles. and traditions, they would not at all submit to what he desired, nor own him for their Arch-Bishop, tho he came from the* Hist.

the Pope; the Abbot owned they had love and service for the Pope; and for every true and pious Christian, but he knew no other obedience to be due unto him, whom they called the Pope; Neither was he Father of Fathers, and moreover they were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Caerleon*.

The *Britains* and *Saxons* would not in those early times own the Pope for an Infallible judge, tho he sent Preachers among them; they consulted him as a Patriarch, but no more, and did not follow the Rites of the Roman Church, till the Reign of *Henry* the first; They were subject to their own King, and he only subject to the King of *Heaven*; and memorable are the words of *William* the Conqueror to *Greg.* the 7th; I neither have nor will own Fealty to you, neither do I find that my predecessors did ever doe it to yours, which is fully made out by the Sages of our Law.

The Kings of *Scotland*, have ancient'y done the like, as is Evident from their Historians; and by the advice of their Bishops and Clergy, they prohibited Legats from Rome to enter the Kingdom. And in this Country, Fealty was sworn by the Clergy and Laity at *Lismore* to *Henry* the 2d. He convened a Synod at *Cashel*; and there, and at another General meeting of the Clergy at *Ardmagh*, was the Kings Sovereignty acknowledged, and the conformity of this Church with that of *England*, in all divine offices, agreed on; and in *Henry* the Eights time, they did not only unanimously by act of Parliament, but particularly under their hands, to the then Lord Deputy, renounce the *Papal* jurisdiction; and then did all the Bishops, of *England* but one, take the Oath of the Kings Supremacy; The Convocation, which is a National Council, consented to it; and they gave under their hands, that the Pope had no Jurisdiction in *England*; Nay *Q. Mary* her self commanded the Popes *Nuncio* not to come into *England*. Thus did these three Kingdoms, both of old and of late, disown the Popes power, tho they were all then of the *Romish* Religion.

Notwithstanding all which, the Scripture, Councils, & Fathers say, the Pope has no authority over Princes, yet has he usurped

ped it, & their Subjects, who would not submit unto him have been absolved from their Allegiance, and instigated by his Emiffaries to Rebell; and Kings have been Excommunicated, depofed, and Murthered, and none has violated this Canon of *St. Peters*, more then his pretended fucceffors. I need not inftance in *P. Zachary*, who depofed *Childerick*, and Ordered *Pipin*, the Kings high Steward, to Govern *France*. In the Hiftories of *Greg. the 7th.* and *Urban the 2d.* you'll find the Emperours Son urged to Rebell againft his Father; the Bishop of *Leige* excommunicated, and he and his Clergy commanded to be put to death, for not renouncing their fidelity, but giving that honour which this Text injoyns to their Native Sovereign. You know *Pius Quintus* urged the *English* to Rebell againft our own *Queen E.* And the Divines of *Salamanca* and *Valadolid* encouraged the *Irish* to rife up againft her; and *Gauran* their Primate was killed in the head of the Rebels, tho I now find him enrolled, with many other fuch Subjects, among the Martyrs of this Nation, in the Tripartite Epitome of their Modern *Saints*; who had many contrivances to deftroy that good *Queen*. The like practices they had in the Reigne of *K. J.* and how much they contributed to the Ruine of the late King; and how zealoufly they have of late attempted the deftruction of this, is obvious to all: their Clergy being the Chief Incendiaries to all thefe Villanies.

And that which is moft lamentable is, all thefe Mifchiefs *John* proceed from the Principles of their Religion, for thefe Acti- *Gaven* ons have been Juftified by many of their beft writers, and *alias* greateft Jefuits; On which allow me to enlarge a little, feeing *Gaven* one, who was lately executed for the Plot, did (out of zeal to *lately* his order, and knowing how apt the words of dying men are to *Execu-* melt and Influence the too Credulous vulgar) openly and fo- *ted,* lemnly deny it; 'tis ftrange he could remember but one of his Brethren, who allowed of that Doctrin, when many of their books run that way. *Becanus* will not fuffer us to queftion the Lawfulnefs of Killing refractory and difobedient Princes, if *Angl.* the Pope fo Order it; And *Leffius* thought it furely, the do- *Cont.* *ctrine* 1. 15. p.

doctrine of the Church, when he says 'tis heretical not to believe
 the Popes power of deposing. Indeed *Emmanuel Sa* wont have
 the King killed, till he be Excommunicated, but then (*latâ*
sententiâ) any one may be his Executioner; And *Suares* says,
 'Tis lawfull to Resist and kill your own King, if you cant defend
 your selves otherwise from his violence; and in another place,
 he says, such insurrections are no Treason, but a Just war; which
 Doctrine was defended by Dr. *Petit*, upon the Murther of the
 Duke of *Orleanse*. *Simanca* says an heretical Prince must not
 only lose his Kingdom, but his Children shall be debarred
 from the succession; And *Creswel* affirms, That if any King
 desert the *Roman* Religion, all Divines and Canonists agree,
 that by the Law of God & Man, he immediatly looses all power
 and dignity, before the Pope give Sentence against him; his
 subjects are free from all Oaths of Allegiance which they have
 taken, and they may, and ought, if they have strength, to de-
 pose him as an Apostat Heretick; And says he, This is the most
 certain, Definit, and undoubted opinion of the most learned
 men. *Mariana* says, The King must be admonished to own the
 Popes Supremacy, but if he wont, they may kill him, how
 highly does he (and so does the Jesuit *Ribadeneira* also) de-
 fend and extoll that inhuman Monk, who murdered *H. 3d.*
 and calls that horrid wickedness, an admirable greatness of spi-
 rit, and an Act not to be forgotten, by which he had raised to
 himself a great and mighty name; There does he Justify the
 Killing of Kings, for the alteration of Religion, and in the
 next chapter, directs the manner, how he would have them poi-
 soned; which very Book was approved of, by their General the
 Visitor, and other Grave and Learned men of the Jesuitical
 order. It were endless to name all who maintaine this Opini-
 on; read *Amphitheatrum Bonarsii*, and the Book *De Abdicatione*
H. 3., and you'll find the assassinating of Kings, largely justified;
 and in *Franciscus Veronas* Apology for the wicked *Chastel*,
 you'll see the Killing of Kings Vindicated with this Circumstance,
Non obstante decreto supradicti Concilij Constantiensis, Privatis,
et Singulis licitum sit, Reges et Principes Hæreseos, & Tyranni-

dis condemnatos occidere ; Tho the Council of Constance decreed the Contrary, yet may any Private man kill Kings and Princes condemned for Heresy and Tyranny. *Gretzer, Burgoin, Andreas Eudemons* Apology for Father *Garnet*, and many more, too tedious now to mention, are full of such discourses ; Their great oracle *Bellarminè* cries out , *Papa potest mutare Regna & uniaufferre, atque alteri conferre, &c.* The Pope, as he is supream spiritual Prince, may take a Kingdom from one, and give it to another ; and in another place he says, if the King be Tyrannical or Heretical, all agree, that he may, and ought to be deposed, and pretends the Primitive Christians would have served them so, but that they wanted strength ; though he well knew they abhorred such Doctrines, when they were equal to their Adversaries, as is fully evident from *St. Cypr. Tert. St. Aug.* and others ; which great Truth is confessed by *Barclay* and *Tollanus* and other of their writers ; They own, it was not for want of strength, the Christians did not Rebell, but out of obedience to the Principles of their Religion.

But that Cardinals judgment prevayled more than all the Primitive Fathers, he affirms, all agree in it ; and who will contradict him, seeing one Pope says, *Non eos Homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus Excommunicatos zelo Catholicæ Matris Urb. 2: ardentes, eorum quoslibet trucidasse Contigerit* ; That good Rescrip. Pope counted them no Murtherers, who out of zeal to the Ca- de Oc- tholick Church, would kill those whom she Excommunicated. cif. Who will doubt this to be the Doctrine of the Roman Church, Excom. when the infallible head thereof (as they call him) gives such &c, great encouragement to slay all who are under that sentence, or sees another Pope grant a *Jubile* to all Christendom for the Massacre of *Paris*, or reads the Oration, which his Holiness made upon the Murther of *H. 3d*, which is attested by Father *Warming- Sixt Quint. ton*, who writ and distributed the copies among the Cardinalls, to second which, *Guignard* made a Book in praise of the Monk who did it ; and in it advised the like to be done to his successour, which *Ravaillac* performed, and was also justified in their Publick writings ; and the Doctrine of Deposing Princes is

Conc. fully asserted in many other books dedicaed to the *Pope*, and the
 Lat. 4. greatest Cardinals, and the Superiors of their Orders, carrying
 Can. 3. their Approbation and Licence in the Front ; and not only
 Tom. 28. particular persons, but above a thousand of their Clergy at
 once, invested the Pope with the Power of Excommunicating
 and Deposing such Princes, as at any time should refuse to ex-
 tirpate Hereticks. And did not another Council ratifie the
 Conc. Deposing of *Frederick* the Second, by *Innocent* the Fourth?
 Lugd. and their Doctors tell us plainly, what may be done with
 T. 28. them, when the Pope has deprived them, for which I might
 quote *Creswell* and *Windeck*, and others, who say, that Sub-
 jects are bound in Conscience, and by the Command of God,
 to expel their Heretical Princes, and that they hazard their
 Souls if they don't do it; and that all Hereticks should be put
 to death; they should be burnt or cut in pieces.

By which you see, 'tis not the opinion of one, but of ma-
 ny, and the Practice of their greatest Church-men hath been
 agreeable to this Doctrine ; I could name several of their
 Bishops, who, in this Kingdom, turned their Mitres into Hel-
 mets, and their Croziers into Swords, and embued their
 hands in the blood of the Kings good Subjects ; and who can
 tell when they will be of a better mind, and more merciful
 disposition ? for their Jesuit *Campion* says, *He would have all*
 In Con- know, that their Society, which is spread over all the world, has
 cer. made a League, a holy and solemn Oath, that while any one of
 Eccl. an- them is alive, they will go on in using all ways, to extirpate and
 no 1583. root out Protestants ; and that they will pursue the Ruine of our
 Princes Person, Religion, and Kingdom ; and we have found his
 words true hitherto. And another of his Brethren says, *A*
 Becan. 1. Catholick Prince ought not to suffer a Heretick to live in his
 5. c. 16. Dominions, unless they be too numerous and strong for him ; or
 Comp. unless he fears some Heretical Prince will invade him for it.
 Contr. And in the preceding Chapter, he says, *Hereticks do more di-*
sturb the Christian Peace, than Murtherers or Thieves ; but they
may justly be put to death, much more may Hereticks : In order to
 which, these Kingdoms were formerly given to *Charles* the fifth,
 by

by the Pope, and the Grant afterwards ratified to his Son *Philip*; and the Natives of this Country were to'd in Bulls, and Breves, that the *English* ought to be as much opposed, as the *Turks*; they were promised Victory, and the same Rewards, which they should have had, in a Holy War, against *Saracens*: And was not a Plenary Indulgence and Pardon of Sins granted by *Urban* the Eighth to all, who would joyn in the late Rebellion? I could name other Jesuits, and Popes, who are of these bloody Principles; but I fear, I am already irregular in this long Collection, which is extorted from me by the late Jesuit's forgetfulness at his death; who, out of po'itick Charity to others, yet untryed, and to prevent Scandal, could think of none that held this Opinion but *Mariana*. And now do you judge what sort of Religion this is, which allows and enjoyns such open violations of the Laws of God and Nature, which reconciles Treason to the fifth, and Murther to the sixth Commandment, which faints Men for Rebellion, and damns them for Allegiance; such Tenets are surely scandalous to Christianity, most dangerous and destructive to Princes, and highly against this Text; and have and will much hinder the Propagation of the Gospel, in Infidel and Pagan Countries, where the Light of Nature, the Practice and Tradition of their Forefathers, and the moral Instructions of their Priests, teach men to be more Humane, and Loyal, than are many Votaries of the *Roman Church*.

And would to God, I could accuse no others for the Violation of my Text; but alas! O grief and shame to speak it! Is not this Doctrine countenanced by many Bigots of *Geneva*, and our neighboring Kirk, who would manacle our free-born Princes, invade their Prerogative, and strip them of those Honours, which their Royal Ancestors have always enjoyed? who would reduce these three Kingdoms into a Seigniorie, and make our Imperial Crown as narrow as the Duke of *Venice* his Cap: They would allow the King a kind of Regal, but dependant, Authority; He should have the Robes of the *British* Monarch, but nothing of his antient Power: and in short,

if

if their Instructions were followed, he should be only a Noble Servant to the People, whom they might call to an account, and punish when they please : For, does not *Buchanan* say, *De Ju- re, Reg.* the People may give the Crown to whom they will? that if Princes do not excel in virtue, they are not to be deemed Kings, but should want the benefit of all humane Society; and if they wont walk according to the Laws made by the People, they are Enemies to God and Man, and should be reckoned among Wolves, and other destructive Beasts; he would have the People carry them into some remote parts, or drown them in the Sea, as the *Romans* did their Monsters; he says, *Major pars Populi de Magistratu judicare, & judices ei ferre queat, aut si Trib. plebis Romani, & Ephori Lacedemonii ad levendam vim imperii quesiti sunt, &c.* which surely he took from *Calvin*, who says, *If there be popular Magistrates, Instit. l. 4. c. 20.* to moderate the unruliness of Kings, such as the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedemonian Kings*, the *Tribunes* to the *Roman Consuls*, or the *Demarchi* to the *Athenian Senate*, (which Power, it may be, the three Estates have in every Kingdom) *they are perfidious if they connive at them*; which very words *Bradshaw* used, when *24 Epfi.* he condemned our late gracious Sovereign; or from *Beza*, who affirms, that *Inferiour Magistrates are bound to protect the People from domestick Tyrants*; or from *Bucanus de Magistratu*, who speaks much to the same purpose; but he far exceeds them all, in most subtle and bitter instigations, to rebel against the King; and tells them, how some have been perpetually imprisoned, and others banished, and the Actors not censur'd for it, and instanceth in *James the Third*, whose Death (says he) was not revenged: but here he forgot, what horreur of Conscience seized on his Son, whom they forced with them into the Field, that he lamented it all his life after, and wore an Iron Chain about him, in token of his great grief and sorrow of heart: And how remarkably God punished him, his Nobles, and Commons, at the Battel of *Flowden*, where many of those Parricides, or their Children, were signally vanquished, and destroyed, as their own Books witness.

He runs on in that rebellious strain, and commends *Thebe* for killing her Husband; *Timolean* his Brother, and *Cassius* his Son; and *Fulvius* and *Brutus* for murdering their Sons and near Kinsmen, for consulting how to restore the Emperour; and says, Honours and Rewards were given by many of the *Grecian* Cities, to the Killers of Tyranical Princes; and blames *Domitius Corbulo*, for not deposing *Nero*, when he might, &c. His whole Book is full of such traiterous Incentives, and is indeed the Quiver, whence showrs of barbed and empoysoned Arrows have been shot at Monarchs, by all the Pamphleteers in the late times, which makes me quote him so largely.

Thus did he honour the King, in broaching such rebellious Principles among his Subjects, in which *Knox*, *Cartwright*, and *Goodman*, three of their great Writers, do exactly agree with him in them; & many more are the Jesuits Principles asserted; *L. de* If *Bell.* says the Ecclesiastical Estate is higher than the Civil, *Cler.* Mr. *Travers* will say of the Presbyterian Discipline, *Omnes or-* 28. *bis Monarchas*, &c. all the Monarchs of the earth ought to See Ro- submit their Scepters to it; I might shew you the like agreement gers's between the Jesuit *Parsons* and *Buchanan*, between *Emmanuel Sa*, Preface Mr. *Melvil*, and Mr. *Gibson*, and many others: but I offend your to the Ears in naming so many; like *Herod* and *Pilate*, they go hand 39 Ar- in hand, to destroy the Lords Anointed, though they differ in ticles. other points, and they joyntly violate my Text. See Cart-

The most learned of them declined the Judgment and Autho- wrights rity of K. *James*, and affirmed, that what was spoken in the pul- Reply to pit, ought first to be tryed by the Presbytery; and that neither the same he, nor his Council might meddle with it, *in primâ instantiâ*, purpose. though the Words were treasonable: they have called him Per- Secuter in their Sermons, said, he was possesst with a Devil, and made the people rise up against him; neither the Holiness of the Place, nor the Sacredness of his Person, could protect him *Spitts- woods Hist.* from their rebellious Invectives: But least some think, these were private and particular persons, and what they did, ought not to reflect on the whole Kirk; pray observe, that their general Assemblies, and Synods, have denied the Regal Power:

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And although, in *France*, in *Holland*, in *Geneva* it self, Councils and Synods are still called by the Permission and License of the chief Magistrate, yet would the Kirk convene Assemblies, and make Acts of the highest Consequence, contrary to the Kings expresse Commands. And when he would have dissolved them, they have proclaimed openly, that their Assembly was the Supreme Judicatory, in all Causes Ecclesiastical, and that it was their antient Grievance, that his Majesty took upon him spiritual Authority; and therefore they instigated the Commons to rebel: for, to give him power in Spirituals, was to erect a Popedom in his Person. Nay, in the year 1582, when K. *James* did, by his Royal Letter, by expresse Messengers, by his Master of Requests, and Herald at Arms, prohibit their Assembly, they slighted all, and did proceed; then, and afterward, they would allow of no Appeals to the King, but punished those who did so, though *Paul* was permitted to appeal unto *Cesar*. In their Theorems, they say, no Power on earth can challenge Command or Dominion upon the Church; but that all Estates within that Realm, as well Rulers as others, must be subject to the Discipline.

So that you see; the most learned of their Writers, their most admired Preachers, their General Assemblies, which are the Representative Body of the *Kirk*, rob the King of the honour and authority which belong to him, diminish his Power, and with the Pope raise themselves above all that is called God, which the Apostle makes a Mark of *Antichrist*, and they justly urge it so against him; but what will they say, if he retort it upon the *Kirk*, seeing they say, their jurisdiction is independent, and that all men as well Magistrates as others are subject to their Judgment? What does the *Pope* say more? They both have deposed Princes for not owning this Doctrine and by these fiery Principles, have set the world in a flame. How miserable then are those *Monarchs*, whose Crown & life depend on the pleasure of such men? What Protestant King and Country can be long quiet where they are? All our late Troubles sprung from these sanguinary Doctrines; they ruined both Church

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& State, & made these three Kingdoms one great *Akeldama*; & whi'e there is the same cause, may we not fear the same effects? What has either party Printed, in detestation of these ungodly Tenets & Practices, which may awaken the Government, to fixt their Eyes upon both? for tho their Heads look several ways, like those of a *Spread Eagle*, yet are they united in heart, & with their sharp Claws are still grasping, to pull down the most Apostolical Church under Heaven. Let them for shame renounce these Rebellious opinions, & be no longer the great violators of this Apostolical Canon; let them become good Christians and good Subjects, and unite themselves to the true old Protestants, who are free from the blood of Kings, who have ever been the best observers of this Text; and consequently the best Subjects; which is the last thing to be discoursed on. And very justly 3^{dly} may I call them the best Subjects, it being against the Doctrine of our Church, any way to dishonour the King; she enjoyns obedience to him, in spiritual, as well as temporal things, and gives him the same authority which Godly Kings had among the Jews, and Christian Emperours in the primitive Church; her Liturgy, her Homilies, her Canons, her Articles do all own his Supremacy, while both Papists and Fanaticks deny it, pretend a Superiority over him, and that by Divine right.

Where, by the way, I may note the great Partiality and Injustice of our Separatists; who, when they exalted their new Discipline above all other Forms of Church Government, call it the Scepter of Christs Kingdom, and exact obedience from all Monarchs to it; enter into a rebellious Covenant to defend it, and murder thousands who opposed it; even then did they cry out against Episcopacy, as intolerable, intrenching on the Kings Prerogative, and taking away his Power; because some had learnedly defended the Order to be Apostolical & Divine. How great was this Injustice, to abolish Episcopacy, which had flourished in all ages, and all places of the world, even in *Æthiopia* and *India* (where the Popes Supremacy is disowned) from the very Apostles days; for pretending to stand by the same Authority, which their upstart Model had, against

Scripture, and Antiquity, most illegally usurped? How highly did these men sin against this Text, abuse and dishonour the King, in urging him, with Force and Arms, to pull down that holy Order, which he and his Ancestors were, at their Coronation, most solemnly sworn to preserve; and which, with all the Priviledges and Liberties of the Church, more than thirty Parliaments had wisely and maturely confirmed?

And have they not again attempted, by the Sword, (their only powerful Argument) to compel our present Sovereign, contrary to all Rules of Justice and Providence, to alter that Government, which has ever been obedient to him, for that which always rebelled against him, and turn out a Clergy, who would vindicate his Prerogative, and seal their Allegiance with their blood, and place those in their Seats, who were ever disloyal, and yet claim Authority over him? to whom (as his martyred Father said of them) nothing will give content, but the alteration of the whole frame of the Government, and the total overthrow of Royal Authority: or, as his Royal Grandfather wrot of them, who will judge and give Law to their King, but be controul'd by none; whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oaths nor Promises bind: breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, and aspiring without measure, &c. This (and much more) was the Character, that wise King, who had a long and sad experience of them, left to his Son: and their many Rebellions ever since, shew it; not only true of them, who vexed his righteous Soul, but a Prediction of others, who would afterward strictly adhere to their Principles; and in bloody Letters have they, in most places since, recorded themselves, the great violaters of this Text.

But, blessed be God, the true Episcopal Protestants, have always observed it, and most conscientiously honoured their King; they have adhered to him in the worst of times, and have been the greatest presidents of Fidelity in the world; they have cheerfully suffered plundering and sequestration, imprisonment and exile; some were Martyrs at Home, and others were Confessors abroad; neither Chains, nor Gibbets, could

could terrifie them from their Allegiance; their Religion and Loyalty were grounded on the same Foundation, and they could not be Sons of the Church, and Traytors to the King; they must lay down old Protestancy, when they lift up a hand against the Lords Anointed.

For their Principles are the same with those of the Primitive Christians, and they will, on no pretence whatsoever, rebel against their Prince; though he were a Presbyterian, both in Opinion, and Government, they durst not dishonour, or disobey him, but would, with those of old, *flere & mori*, weep and dye, and never draw a Sword against him. They would imitate the *Theban* Legion under *Maximianus*, submit to a second Decimation, and be cut in pieces, before they would strike at their lawful Sovereign. This was, and is still, the Doctrine of our Church, in which she may justly triumph over all the World, which we should, at this juncture of time, frequently preach, and defend, with all true Protestant Courage and Resolution.

Let us, with the brave *Mauricius*, and *Exuperius*, who commanded that Loyal Army, call to our Parishioners, *Mori magis quàm vincere*, rather to dye, and fall innocently, than live victorious Rebels; let us often shew them the eternal Rewards of Fidelity, and the dreadful Punishments of Disobedience; let us convince them, as 'tis in our Homilies (which also shews the Doctrine of our Church) that as Heaven is the place of good obedient Subjects, so is Hell the Prison and Dungeon of Rebels against God and their Prince, &c. By which allowed President, let us with Loyal and Religious Zeal, cry aloud against the Breakers of this Text; let us assert the Supremacy of Princes in their own Territories, against all the Delusions and Impostures of *Rome*, and *Geneva*; let us privately discourse them, and publickly preach them, into a devout Reverence, and Loyal Admiration of the present Government; which, for the security of Religion and Property, is most certainly the best under Heaven; tis easie and gentle, not Arbitrary and Tyrannical, and gives the Subject all the Priviledges, he can rationally.

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rationally desire: no Sequestrators or Committy-men are seen among us; the Cry of Widdows and Orphans is not heard in our streets; the Peasant does not groan under Taxes, but every man enjoys his own, and is protected by the Laws, from the Oppressions and Injuries of others; for which, and a'l other Blessings we here enjoy, perswade we our Auditors, to be truly thankful to God and the King, and to express it in all Godliness and Honesty, in all Loyalty and Affection, in unity and uniformity; and let us in all respects, be burning and shining Lights unto them: In a word, let us in our Lives and Actions contribute all we can, to the Honour of our King, who is a most tender, indulgent and nursing Father to our Church; Let us shew it in our exact Conformity to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, in our great Honour and Obedience to those whom he hath set over us, in Church and State, and especially to him, who for his vast abilities, his great Sufferings, and untainted Loyalty, is now most deservedly set in the ancient Throne of this Diocess; let his Comfort in his Clergy increase with his Honour, and let us, by the Holiness of our Lives, our Constancy in Preaching, and other Ministerial Duties (on which I have formerly on the like occasion discoursed) shew our Obedience to our Metropolitan, our Fear to God, and Honour to the King.

F I N I S.